

DEMOCRAT AND SENTINEL.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]
I submit the resolutions of the Legislature of Colorado, which evidence the patriotic spirit of the people of the territory.— So far, the authority of the United States has been upheld in all the territories, as it is to be hoped it will be in future. I commend their interests and defence to the enlightened and generous care of Congress. I recommend to the favorable consideration of Congress the interests of the District of Columbia. The insurrection has been the cause of much suffering and sacrifice to its inhabitants, and as they have no representation in Congress, that body should not overlook their just claims upon the government. At your late session a joint resolution was adopted, authorizing the President to take measures for facilitating a proper representation of the industrial interests of the United States at the exhibition of the industry of all nations, to be held at London the year 1862.

I regret to say that I have been unable to give personal attention to this subject—a subject at once so interesting in itself and so extensive and intimately connected with the material prosperity of the world. Through the Secretaries of State and of the Interior a plan or system has been devised and partly matured and which will be laid before you. Under and by virtue of an act of Congress entitled "an act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes"—approved August 6th 1861, the legal claims of persons to the labor and service of other persons have become forfeited and numbers of the latter, thus liberated, are already dependent on the United States and must be provided for in some way. Besides this it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefits respectively, and by operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal. In such cases I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation in lieu of direct taxes or upon some other plan to be agreed on with such States respectively that such persons, or such acceptance by the general government, be at once declared free, and that in any event steps be taken for colonizing both classes, or the one first mentioned, if the other shall not be brought into existence at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization. To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one. With us the power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plan of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than procuring room for population.

On the whole proposition, including the appropriation of money, with the acquisition of territory does not, the expediency amounts to absolute necessity that without which the government itself cannot be perpetuated?

The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for the purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have, therefore, in every case, thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature.— In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents instead of putting in force by proclamation the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing these ports. So also obeying the dictates of prudence, as well as the obligations of laws, instead of transcending, I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved, and hence, all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable. The inaugural address at the beginning of the administration, and the message to Congress at the late special session, were mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung. Nothing now occurs to add or subtract to or from the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in those documents.—

The last ray of hope for preserving the Union peacefully, expired with the assault upon Fort Sumter, and a general review of what has occurred since, may not be unprofitable. What was painfully uncertain then, is much better defined and more distinct, and the progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents claimed a strong support from North of Mason and Dixon's line, and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on that point. This, however was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. South of the line, noble little Delaware led off right from the first, Maryland was made too soon against the Union, and our soldiers were assailed, bridges were burned and rail roads were torn up within her limits, and we were many days at one time without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the capital. Now her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the government. She already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union, and none to the enemy, and her people, at a regular election, have sustained the cause of the Union by a larger majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate on any question. Kentucky too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly and I think, unchangedly ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet, and I believe cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than forty thousand men in the field for the Union, while of their citizens certainly not more than a third of that number, and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtful existence, are in arms against it.— After a somewhat bloody struggle of months winter closes on the people of Western Virginia leaving them masters of their own country. An insurgent force of about 1500 for months dominating the narrow peninsular region constituting the counties of Accomack and Northampton, and known as the eastern shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms, and the people there have renewed their allegiance and accepted the protection of the old flag. This leaves no armed insurrectionists north of the Potowmack, nor east of the Chesapeake. Also, we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points on the southern coast of Hatteras Port Royal, Tybee Island, near Savannah and Ship Island, and we likewise have some general accounts of the popular movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee. These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily Southward.

Since your last adjourn List, Gen. Scott has retired from the head of the army. During his long life the nation has not been unmindful of his merit, yet on calling to mind how faithfully and brilliantly he has served the country from a time far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually I cannot but think we are yet his debtors. I submit, therefore, for your consideration—what further mark of recognition is due him and to ourselves as a grateful people.

With the retirement of General Scott came the Executive duty of appointing in his stead a general-in-chief of the army.— It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council or country was there so far as any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring chief repeatedly expressed his judgement in favor of General McClellan for the position, and in this the nation seemed to give a unanimous concurrence. The designation of Gen. McClellan is, therefore, in a considerable degree the selection of the country, as well as of the Executive, and hence there is better reason to hope there will be given him the cordial support thus by fair implication promised and without which he cannot with so full efficiency serve his country. It has been said that one bad General is better than two good ones, and the saying is true if taken to mean no more than that an army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior than by two superior ones at variance and cross purposes with each other, and the same is true in all joint operations wherein these engaged can have none but a common end in view, and can differ only as to the choice of means. In a storm at sea, no one on board can wish the ship to sink, and yet, not unfrequently all go down together, because too many will direct, and no single mind can be allowed to control it.

Every day continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principles of popular government, the rights of the people. Convincing evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In these documents we find the abridgement of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislature, boldly advocated with laborious arguments to prove that large control of the people in the government is the source of all political evil.—

Monarchy itself sometimes hinted at and a possible refuge from the power of the people. In the present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed, or fitting here, that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point, with its connection, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above labor, in the structure of government. It is presumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owns capital, somehow, by the use of it, induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what they call slaves; and further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there such a think as a free white laborer being fixed in for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. Labor is prior to and independent of Capital. Capital is only the fruits of labor, and could never exist if labor had not existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its right, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights; nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between capital and labor producing mutual benefit. The error is in assuming that the whole laboring community exists within that relation. A few men have capital and that few would labor themselves and with their capital higher or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class; neither work for others nor have others work for them. In most of the southern states a majority of the people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the northern a large majority are neither hired or hired. Men, with their families, wives, sons and daughters, work for themselves on their farms, in their houses and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand nor of hired labor on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital, that is, labor with their own hands and also buy or hire others to work for them, but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class.

No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this class. Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such a thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless, beggar in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system, which opens the way to all—gives hope to all and consequently energy and progress to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who till up from poverty more less inclined to take or touch ought which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our National Census to the last, are seventy years, and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of those other things which men deemed desirable, has been even greater. We thus have at one view what the popular principle applied to government through the machinery of the States and the Union has produced in a given time and also what, if firmly maintained, it promises for the future. There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain two hundred and fifty millions. The struggle of to day is not altogether for to day—it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence and all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
WASHINGTON, Dec 3, 1861.

—When Byron crossed the sea he sang:—"My native land, good night." When Mason and Slidell attempted to cross, they woke up in the morning and made the salutation,—"My native land, good morning."

—The best exponent of peace doctrines for South Carolina, are Sherman's x pounder.

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ROBERT D. THOMAS.
Ebensburg, May 15th, 1861. t.

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of every description.

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No. 2, corner of Clinton and Main streets. He feels confident that persons wishing articles in his line will save the expenses of the journey by purchasing from him.

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Johnstown, Mar. 13, 1861.

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IT IS FIRE AND WATER PROOF.

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GUTTA PERCHIA CEMENT,

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